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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an [illegible]ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

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[7

Life History of the Villager

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDREN

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The notion of limiting the number of their offspring is quite alien to Hsin Hsing villagers. They greatly desire children and feel that to have none is the saddest thing in life. This attitude is entirely in keeping with the general cultural emphasis on family continuity and care for aged parents which is summed up in the saying, "A husband and wife without children are people without a future." A son is of greater importance and value than a daughter, simply because it is the male who remains with the family and ensures its continuity; his sister's marriage inevitably takes her away from her natal family and ties her future to that of her husband and his kinship group.

Nevertheless, girl children are considered necessary in any household, and the ideal family consists of four or five children, of which two are girls. There are countless chores around the house for which daughters are needed, and today unmarried girls often contribute financially to the family income. Even the daughter's marraige plays an important part in helping to extend the family's relationships with others. When a parent dies, daughters return to mourn and wail at the funeral. As some villagers said, "If you have girls, then they will cry for you on the road one day." In addition, there is little doubt that most parents are sincerely saddened when their daughters marry and leave home. Parents are genuinely devoted to their children, regardless of sex. The children are welcomed and loved and treated equally, especially in early childhood. Even a physically handicapped child receives loving care, and no matter how inadequate the food supply may be, all will share it equally.

[764]

However, under a patrilineal system the boy child is always more desirable, and the parents' love for all their children does not mean that a daughter's ultimate value is considered equal to that of a son. As several villagers said in more or less the same words, "When a

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enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores.

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income.

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The

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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

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775 one spirit remains in the grave, another remains in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room of the family home, and the third journeys to the underworld to be judged by the gods of the underworld for its past deeds in life. These gods determine the fate of the spirit, which may be eternal punishment and torture in the underworld, a punishment appropriate to the seriousness of past deeds, or rebirth in another world as anything from an insect to a member of the gentry or an even higher status. However, the spirits of people who have lived extraordinarily pure and good lives are permitted immediate entrance to the "Western Paradise," never again to undergo the uncertainty and misery of earthly life.

Death

763 Death is not always sudden and unexpected. Sometimes it becomes apparent that an old person is about to die "when his eyes no longer see or he can no longer eat rice." When this happens, the family is able to prepare for the occasion and, at the same time, eliminate the need to perform a ritual to rid the bedroom of the demon of death—necessary if someone dies in his bed. The dying person is washed and dressed in special clothes and moved from the bedroom to the family's or *tsu's kung t'ing*. Here he is placed on several wooden benches which have been covered with straw mats, and he and the family wait for death to come. Female members of the family take turns keeping watch in the room, passing the hours making fiber hats or doing other hand work.

On one occasion a very old woman was apparently dying and was thus washed and dressed in her burial clothes and moved into the ancestral-worship room. The family recalled that when she could still speak she had said she wanted to die on the anniversary of her husband's death so that the ritual of ancestor worship for herself and her husband could be carried out easily by the family on the same day. For four days the old woman lingered in a coma; finally, on the fourth day, there was "no more breath in her" and she died. I expressed amazement that the old woman had died on the very day she had predicted. The response was, "Well, of course, the old people are always right."

764 [M8] In cases of sudden death, the body is moved immediately into the ancestral-worship room, washed and dressed in burial clothes, and laid out on the mat-covered benches to await burial. Whether the deceased had been brought there to die or was placed there after his death, all chairs in the room are removed, mirrors are covered, statues of the gods taken down, and scrolls picturing the gods hung face to the wall. [656] Straw is placed on the floor on which the mourners and visitors sit. At this time the family of the deceased must register the death at the

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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764 575 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 575 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

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the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

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764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 775 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

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outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 764 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 536 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have 793 the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [602] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on [481] their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who 791 is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capac- 756 ity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

We will also see that although some religious or magical act is performed in the village almost every day of the week, either by a family or by the village as a whole, this is not necessarily an indication of piety and veneration as the West understands religion. For the Taiwanese villager, the observances are not necessarily sacred only; many villagers have pointed out that they "make life interesting and exciting, and the people look forward to them with great enthusiasm." Not only do such activities have a significant function in Taiwanese society but, as we shall see, many villagers are extremely aware of the importance of many rituals to the continuity of their society and patterns of living.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AND ACTIVITIES

The villagers' practices are not based on a strong belief in any single concept of the supernatural. There is, in fact, so complete a mixture of religious and magical beliefs in the village that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins. While elements of popular Taoism and ancestor worship are the strongest and most apparent, there is a clearly Buddhist influence, and the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are extremely evident. There are also important elements of animism out of which has "grown a complex of attitudes and values" (Kulp, 1925:284) and a system of divination by which the "spirits of wind and water" (Kulp, 1925:284) may be controlled; this is referred to as geomancy (*feng-shui*).

The funeral ceremony (described in Chapter 7) clearly shows the presence of this admixture in the villagers' beliefs. There are elements of Taoism and Buddhism in the ritual of the journey of the spirit of the dead to the underworld for final judgment, punishment, and rebirth in the next world, but there are also evident Confucian teachings and even remnants of animistic beliefs. It is perhaps most accurate to say that all these beliefs have been combined into a single loose system, and the average believer makes no attempt to define or distinguish the different elements of the whole.

Confucianism

While Confucianism is closely integrated within the religious system, there is no formal cult or official Confucian ritual in Hsin Hsing village. Although there is a Confucian temple in Lukang, usually only residents of that city worship there.[1] However, the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are present in the rules of correct behavior which have been passed down from generation to generation of villagers. Filial piety, respect for age and authority, and worship of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thia̍: , while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thia̍: . If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thia̍: , the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thia̍: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thia̍: , and they leave by way of the kōng-thia̍: . It is also by way of the kōng-thia̍: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thia̍: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thia̍: , but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

her a married daughter in the eyes of her parents and a daughter-in-law in her family of procreation. One might easily argue that this is the reason her parents do not need to be present at the ceremony which gives her the status of wife. And yet there is other evidence which seems to suggest that while the adoption does give the foster family certain rights in a child it does not mean that she is married in the usual sense. If an adult woman's husband dies, she ordinarily remains a daughter-in-law in her husband's family, but in the case of a sīm-pûa the child's parents may demand her return if her prospective husband should die before the second ceremony. It is also generally recognized that the parents have more interest in the welfare of a child who is a sīm-pûa than they do in the welfare of a daughter who is married. When an adult married woman dies, her mother's brother may show his displeasure at the treatment she has received in her husband's family by knocking several of the male members of the family on the head with his cane when he comes to inspect the coffin, it being expected of the husband's family that they will wait kneeling at the door of their house for the arrival of the deceased's consanguineal relatives. But, as we have already pointed out above, it never happens that a married woman's family will take her back into their household, and they certainly do not have the right to remove her from her place as a wife and daughter-in-law in her husband's family. In the case of the sīm-pûa, however, the girl's parental family does have the right to demand her removal if they feel that she is being mistreated, and this does in fact happen upon occasion, although it certainly is not

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Across the square a narrow, unpaved alley twists past a coffin shop, smelling incongruously fresh and spring-like from the fragrant sandalwood; it makes another turn at the legless fortune teller's shop, passes a few houses, and abruptly disappears in the open, shimmering rice paddies.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

618 following a poem. However, none of these groups are a
602 very important part of village social organization. They are consanguine groups and consanguine relatives are closer than non-relatives and this fact does play some part in establishing social relationships such as friendship, work exchanges, money lending, etc. The groups do have some importance for socio-political events for factional leaders often utilize kinship identities to solicit support. However, none of the above groups can really be defined by corporate holdings other than burial plots or even by ritual.

602 769 In only one case does a group approach the definition by Hu (1948:10), membership may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with ancestral graves and the ancestral hall." There is no ancestral hall. However, about fifty years ago, a Sanlei villager returned to his family's original village in Fukien to visit. Among other things, he registered people in the old ancestral halls and copied genealogical histories and became intrigued with the large [764] lineage burial plots found in Fukien. Upon his return to Taiwan, he managed to unite three of five descent lines from a single man in establishing a single large and elaborate burial plot. (The area surrounding Sanlei is rated particularly highly in terms of <u>feng shui</u>[13] for burial and possesses many elaborate tombs.) Earlier burials of some

she would worship there twice each month the rest of her life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

The final set of holy places are the various tombs for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excellent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently was constructed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.). Villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the village (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long, and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

791 by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family
823
787 burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

[354] The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally
• [764] employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

791 As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent
823 sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two
764 of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased
787 many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit
[464] both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason
[434] and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

756 Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

756 (master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien
(master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually
appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which
are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively
hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter
may be merely because sufficient time for medical treat-
755 ment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick,
many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both
medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male
and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker
761 than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are
755 rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not
been vigorous recently because after 60, death is consid-
ered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only
due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness,
the family patiently waits for death without treatment.

793 Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have
[787] priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are con-
sulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for mar-
riage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (hung t'ou
[755] Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that de-
scribed for the fortune sticks in the village temple except
the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a
fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific per-
sonal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform
[764] proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

Death and Beyond

Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 763 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
775 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
[177] in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
[435] residents and charges $25.00 for outsiders. About seven
765 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location